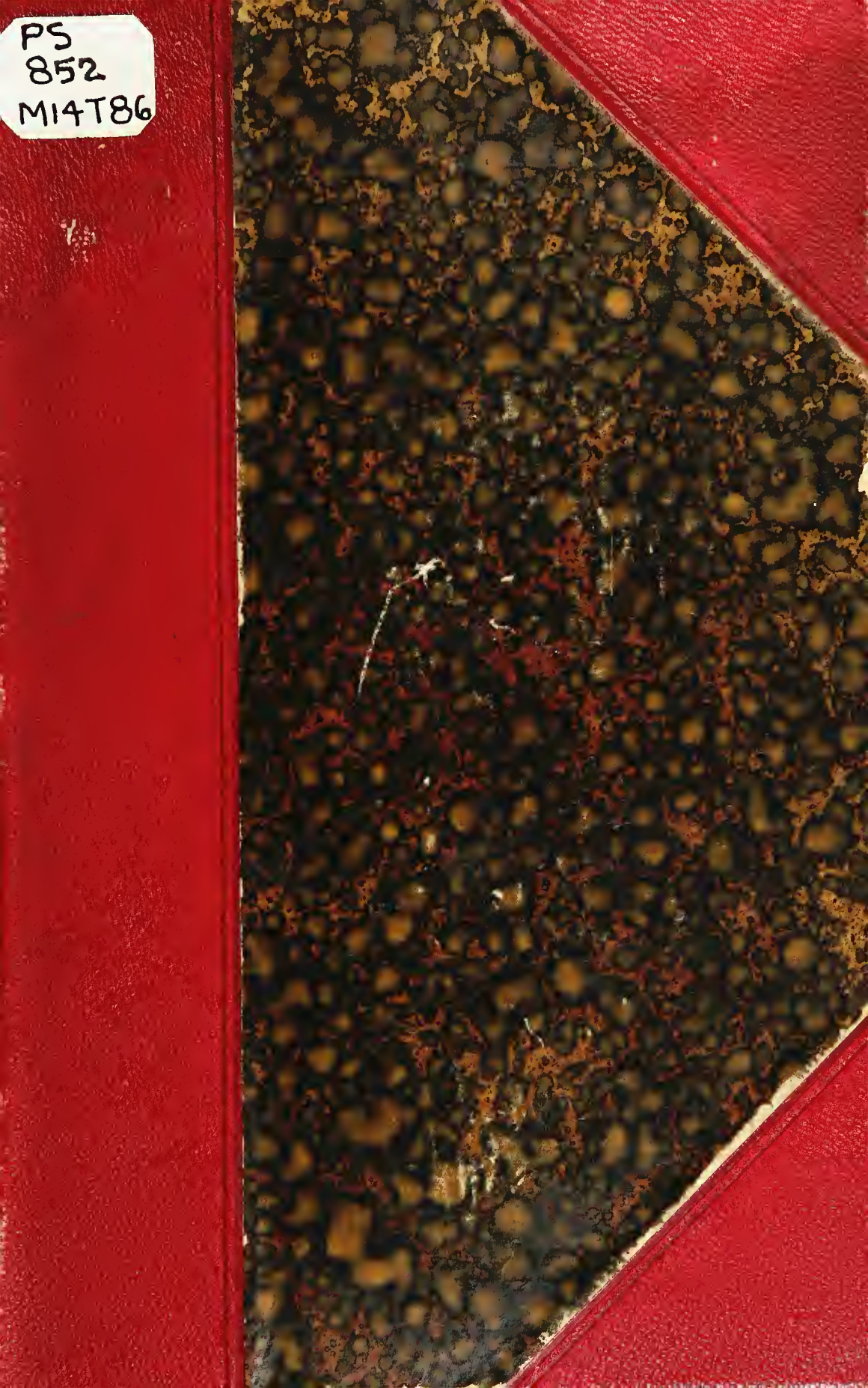
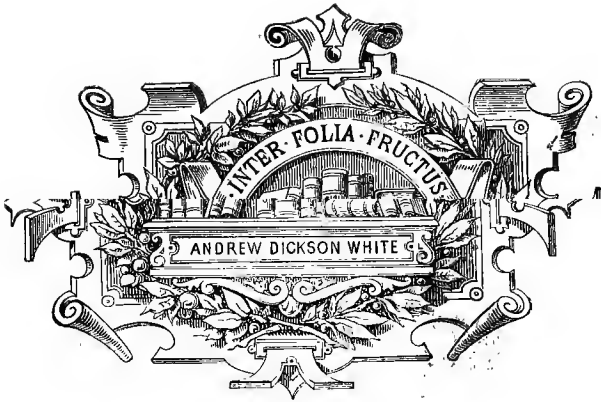


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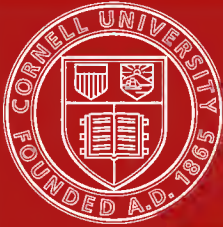
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THE ORIGIN
OF
M'FINGAL.

BY HON. JO^{HN}HAMMOND TRUMBULL.
PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
1868.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following paper, originally published in **THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**, for January, 1868, has been reproduced in this form for the use of the Author and his friends.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

JOHN TRUMBULL, the author of *M'Fingal*, after his admission to the bar in Connecticut,¹ prosecuted the study of law at Boston, in the office of John Adams, from November, 1773, till September, 1774, During this period, as the

1. For the Life of Trumbull, see the Memoir prefixed to the Hartford Edition of his *Poetical Works* (1820, two volumes, octavo), EVEREST's *Poets of Connecticut*, and DUYKINOK's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, i. 308-312.

The following Notes, preserved by President Stiles in his *Itinerary* [MS.], make a considerable addition to what the poet has elsewhere told us of himself and to the gleanings of his biographers:

- "Memoirs Jno. Trumbull Esq., Poet. (*Ex ore John Trumbull*, May 14, 1788.)
- "1750, Apr. 24 N. S. born at Westbury" [*now Watertown*].
- "Æt 2. Began Primer and learned to read in half-year, without school. Mother taught him all the primer verses, and Watts' *Children's Hymns*, before [*he could*] read."
- "Æt. 4. Read the Bible thro'—before 4. About this time began to make Verses. First poetry [*he read was*] Watts' *Lyrics*, and could repeat the whole,—and the only poetical book he read till æt. 6.
- "Æt. 5. Attempted to write and print his own verses. Sample,—large *hugeous* letters. This first attempt at writing, by himself, and before writing after copy. *Scravls.*
- "Æt. 6. In Spring began to learn Latin and learned half Lilly's Grammar before his father knew it: caught it, as his father was instructing Southmayd" [*William; grad. Yale, 1761; son of Capt. Daniel, of Waterbury.*] Same Spring, was 6 yrs. old. Learned *Quæ genus* by heart in a day. Tenacious memory: quick, too.
- "Æt. 9. On a wager laid—to commit to memory one of Salmon's *Pater Nosters* in a quarter of an hour—he effected it, reciting by memory the P. N. in Hungarian

Memoir prefixed to the revised edition of his Works informs us, "he frequently employed his leisure hours in writing essays on political subjects in the public gazettes; which had, perhaps, a greater effect from the novelty of the manner and the caution he used to prevent any discovery of the real author." Shortly after his return to Connecticut, he became a contributor to the Hartford *Courant*,—then published by Ebenezer Watson, and afterwards by Hudson &

-
- "and Malabar, in Salmon; and retains it to this day. I heard him repeat the Hungarian.
- "Æt. 7½. In Sept. 1757, entered Yale College—having fitted for College in one year and half; having learned Cordery, Tully's *XII Select Orations*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, and all the *Æneid* (not *Georgics*), and 4 Gospels in Greek."
- "Æt. 8. Read Milton, and Thompson's *Seasons—Telemachus*—the *Spectators*. These, all the poetical and belles [lettres] books till æt. 13.
- "Æt. 13½. Sept. 1763. Entered College again and resided there. Before this, read Homer, and Horace, and Tully *De Oratore*. Versified half the Psalms before æt. 9, when he first saw Watts' *Psalms*, and laid aside (and burnt) his own. Before 4 æt., upon first reading Watts' *Lyrics*, he cried because he despaired of ever being able to write Poems like Watts.
- "Æt. 17. Grad. at Y. C. and resided as Dean's Scholar till [he] took [his] 2d degree. Then lived one year at Wethersfield.
- "Æt. 21. Elected Tutor Y. C. and in office 2 years.
- "1773. Resigned Tutorship, having studied law one year.
- "1774. One year studied law under Dr. John Adams in Boston; and left, Sept. 1774.
- "1775. Fall, wrote two first Cantos of *M'Fingal*; printed, Jan. 1776.
- "1782. Jan. to April, wrote the rest of *M'Fingal*; printed, September."
-

"At the Commencement in this Town the 14th Instant, . . . among those that appear'd to be examined for Admission was the Son of the Rev'd Mr. Trumble, of Waterbury, who passed a good Examination, altho' but little more than seven Years of Age; but on Account of his Youth his Father does not intend he shall at present continue at College."—*Connecticut Gazette*, No. 129, September 24, 1757.

Goodwin.² Gage,—whose early confidence in his ability “to play the lion” had much abated since his arrival at Boston, in May, 1774,—was now apparently relying more upon the pen than the sword, to awe America to submission. In *M'Fingal* (Canto ii., p. 31) Trumbull retraces

“The annals of the first great year:
 “While, wearying out the Tories' patience,
 “He spent his breath in proclamations;
 “While all his mighty noise and vapour
 “Was used in wrangling upon paper;

“While strokes alternate stunn'd the nation,
 “Protest, address, and proclamation;
 “And speech met speech, fib clash'd with fib,
 “And Gage still answer'd, squib for squib.”

Into this wordy warfare, Trumbull entered with spirit and success. Imitations in burlesque of Gage's magnificent and turgid Proclamations,

“In true sublime of scarecrow style,”

had occasionally appeared in the newspapers of Boston and in Connecticut. At so fair a mark, ridicule could hardly miss its aim; and these squibs were perhaps quite as popular and effective as if their versification had been smoother or their wit more refined.

The Proclamation of the twenty-fifth of July, 1774, “for the Encouragement of Piety and “Virtue,” &c., and that of the twenty-eighth of

2. In 1772, while a Tutor of Yale, he published the first Part of *The Progress of Dullness*,—a poem “designed to expose “the absurd methods of education which then prevailed;” a second Part, with another Edition of the first, was printed in January, 1773; and the third Part appeared in July. In May, 1772, he had published in the *Courant*, *An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Buckingham St. John*, one of his earliest and most intimate friends. Shortly before leaving Boston, (August, 1774,) he wrote *An Elegy on the Times*, which was printed in one of the Boston papers. All these publications were anonymous.

September, proroguing the General Court of Massachusetts, were thus re-produced, in doggerel, and printed (one, or both, perhaps, being copied from a Boston paper,) in the *Courant*, of the third of October. In the *Boston Gazette* of the fourteenth of November, a Proclamation prohibiting compliance with the requisition of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, for the payment of taxes to a Receiver of their own appointment, &c., appeared in Hudibrastic verse :

“ Since an Assembly most unlawful,
 “ At Cambridge met, in Congress awful,
 “ October last, did then presume
 “ The powers of government to assume;
 “ And slighting British administration,
 “ Dar’d rashly seek their own salvation,” &c.

This was re-printed the following week in the *Courant*, and in several other newspapers.

Whether this and other similar compositions, published in the *Courant*, in 1774, were from Trumbull’s pen, is not certain. His characteristic “caution to prevent discovery” has rendered it impossible to convict him of the authorship, except upon the internal evidence. In some publications of the following year, such evidence is more direct; and in one instance, at least, it is positive and conclusive.

On the nineteenth of June, 1775, the *Courant* published Gage’s Proclamation of the twelfth, extending free pardon to “the infatuated multitude,” on their return to allegiance, but proscribing Samuel Adams and John Hancock, with “all their adherents, associates, and abettors,” and establishing Martial Law throughout Massachusetts. The Proclamation re-appeared in the same paper, on the seventeenth of July, in burlesque verse, as

"TOM GAGE'S PROCLAMATION,
 "Or blustering Denunciation,
 "(Replete with Defamation,
 "Threat'ning Devastation,
 "And speedy Ingulation,
 "Of the New English Nation . . .
 "Who shall his pious ways shun ?"

ending in due form, with

"Thus graciously, the war I wage,"
 "As witnesseth my hand . . . TOM GAGE."

"By command of Mother Cary,
 "THOMAS FLUOKER, Secretary."

This burlesque may have been previously published elsewhere. Its merit is too slight to impart any interest to the question of its origin. It appears, however, to have attained a transient popularity and was widely copied by the patriotic press. It may be found (reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Journal*, of the twenty-eighth of June,) in MOORE'S *Diary of the Revolution*, vol. i., pp. 93-94. In the *Courant* of the seventh and the fourteenth of August, another version of the Proclamation made its appearance; and this last was unquestionably written by Trumbull. It is somewhat remarkable that not only the evidence of authorship, but the composition itself, should have escaped the observation of so many diligent gleaners of the newspaper literature of the Revolution. It is more surprising that no Editor of *M'Fingal* has detected in the burlesque Proclamation the origin of the "modern epic," to which more than fifty of the two hundred and sixteen lines of this earlier composition were transferred by its author.

In a letter to the Marquis de Chastellux, Trumbull states that "the poem of *M'Fingal* was written merely with a political view, at the instigation of some leading members of the first Congress, who urged [him] to compose a

“satirical poem on the events of the Campaign “in the year 1775.” The Memoir prefixed to the Edition of 1820, adds, that the friends at whose solicitations the first Canto was written, “immediately procured it to be published at Philadelphia, where Congress was then assembled.” It made its appearance in an octavo pamphlet of forty pages,—printed by William and Thomas Bradford,—in January, 1776, but with the date of 1775. At this time, the author “had also formed the plan of the [whole] work, sketched “some of the scenes of the third Canto, and “written the beginning of the fourth”—the *first* Canto, as originally published, was subsequently divided into two. The composition was suspended until after the surrender of Cornwallis had established the success of the Revolution, when the poem was completed and published, in Hartford, by Hudson & Goodwin, on the tenth of September, 1782. Before the close of the year, (December 28,) a second edition was issued by a rival Hartford Publisher, Nathaniel Patten,³ without the author’s consent.

3. NATHANIEL PATTEN—for many years an enterprising, not over-scrupulous, publisher at Hartford, was originally a book-binder. He had removed from Boston to Norwich, in the Spring of 1774, and after carrying on business at the latter place for two years, came to Hartford in the summer of 1776,—opening a shop as binder, stationer, and bookseller. After a few years he began to publish on his own account.

It is worth noting, that Patten’s piracy of *M’Fingal* led to the enactment by the General Assembly of Connecticut, in January, 1783, of a law of *Copyright*, securing to authors the exclusive right of publishing and vending their works

The Proclamation Versified was published, as has been mentioned, in August, 1775. So large a portion of it is re-produced in the first three Cantos of *M'Fingal*, that the latter poem may be said to have grown directly out of the former. That it was the appearance of this burlesque which induced the Author's friends to urge him to the composition of a longer and regularly constructed poem, in the same measure and a similar vein, is hardly doubtful.

Among the prominent members of the Congress of 1775, to whom Trumbull was personally known, and whose solicitation was likely to have weight with him,—besides the Delegation from his own State, including Oliver Wolcott, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane,—were John Adams, his instructor in law, and Thomas Cushing, in whose family he had lived while in Boston. They were not mistaken in their estimate of his genius and of the service which, in that "period of terror and dismay," his wit, humor, and satiric power might render to the friends of American liberty, "to inspire confidence in our cause, to crush the efforts of the Tory party, and to prepare the public mind for the Declaration of Independence." With these objects in view, as his Memoir informs us, he wrote the first part of *M'Fingal*. Its success abundantly justified the judgment of his friends. Its popularity was un-

couraging productions of genius by ensuring to Authors the profits arising from the sale of their writings. The writer alludes to the "great discouragement to a writer, on the first publication of his work, to see some mean and un-

exampled; and that the favor with which it was received, at home and abroad, was not attributable merely to the interest of its subject or the seasonableness of the publication is sufficiently proved by the fact, that "more than thirty im-pressions" had been called for before 1820, and that then, as now, it had not only its established place in every good library, but had become the prey of "newsmongers, hawkers, peddlers, and "petty chapmen," who, as the Author complains, republished it at pleasure, without his permission or knowledge.

In the Notes appended to this re-print, those portions of the burlesqued Proclamation which were afterwards incorporated in *M'Fingal* are indicated by references to the Author's Edition of the complete poem, (*Hartford, 1782*), except when another Edition is particularly mentioned. The suppression, after the publication of the first Canto, of the name of Daniel Leonard, as the author of the letters of *Massachusettsensis*, and the substitution of William Smith for Isaac Low, in the humorous description of proceedings in New York, are perhaps worthy of special notice. (*See Notes 4 and 9.*)

A copy of the genuine Proclamation, from a broadside in the library of George Brinley, Esq., is prefixed to the imitation, that it may be seen how closely and skilfully Trumbull followed his copy.

GENERAL GAGE'S
PROCLAMATION,
FROM A BROADSIDE IN THE COLLECTION
OF GEORGE BRINLEY, ESQ., OF
HARTFORD, CONN.

*By His Excellency the Honourable THOMAS
GAGE, Esquire, Governour and Com-
mander-in-Chief in and over His Maj-
esty's Province of MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
and Vice-Admiral of the same :*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, the infatuated multi-
tude who have long suffered them-
selves to be conducted by certain well
known incendiaries and traitors, in a fatal
progreſſion of crimes againſt the conſtitu-
tional authority of the State, have at length
proceeded to avowed Rebellion ; and the
good effects which were expected to ariſe
from the patience and lenity of the King's
Government have been often fruſtrated,
and are now rendered hopeleſs, by the in-
fluence of the ſame evil counſels ; it only
remains for thoſe who are inveſted with
ſupreme rule, as well for the puniſhment
of the guilty as for the protection of the

well-affected, to prove they do not bear the sword in vain.

The infringements which have been committed upon the most sacred rights of the Crown and People of *Great Britain*, are too many to enumerate on the one side, and are too atrocious to be palliated on the other. All unprejudiced people, who have been witnesses of the late transactions in this and the neighbouring Provinces, will find, upon a transient review, marks of premeditation and conspiracy that would justify the fulness of chastisement; and even those who are least acquainted with facts, cannot fail to receive a just impression of their enormity, in proportion as they discover the arts and assiduity by which they have been falsified or concealed.

The authors of the present unnatural revolt, never daring to trust their cause or their actions to the judgment of an impartial publick, or even to the dispassionate reflection of their followers, have uniformly placed their chief confidence in the suppression of truth; and while indefatigable and shameless pains have been taken to obstruct every appeal to the real interest of the people of *America*, the grossest forgeries, calumnies and absurdities that ever insulted human understanding have been imposed upon

their credulity. The Prefs, that diftinguifhed appendage of publick liberty, and, when fairly and impartially employed, its beft fupport, has been invariably prostituted to the moft contrary purpofes; the animated language of ancient and virtuous times, calculated to vindicate and promote the juft rights and interefts of mankind, have been applied to countenance the moft abandoned violation of thofe facred bleffings; and not only from the flagitious prints, but from the popular harangues of the times, men have been taught to depend upon activity in treafon, for the fecurity of their perfons and properties; till, to complete the horrid profanation of terms and of ideas, the name of *God* has been introduced in the pulpits, to excite and juftify devaftation and mafacre.

The minds of men have been thus gradually prepared for the worft extremities. A number of armed perfons, to the amount of many thoufands, affembled on the 19th of *April* laft, and from behind walls and lurking holes, attacked a detachment of the King's Troops, who not fufpecting fo confummate an act of phrenzy, unprepared for vengeance, and willing to decline it, made ufe of their arms only in their own defence. Since that period, the rebels,

deriving confidence from impunity, have added insult to outrage; have repeatedly fired upon the King's ships and subjects, with cannon and small-arms; have possessed the roads, and other communications by which the Town of *Boston* was supplied with provisions; and with a preposterous parade of military arrangement, they affect to hold the Army besieged; while part of their body make daily and indiscriminate invasions upon private property, and, with a wantonness of cruelty ever incident to lawless tumult, carry depredation and distress wherever they turn their steps. The actions of the 19th of *April* are of such notoriety as must baffle all attempts to contradict them, and the flames of buildings and other property from the Islands and adjacent country, for some weeks past, spread a melancholy confirmation of the subsequent assertions.

In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in His Majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms and return to their duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefits

of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.

And to the end that no person within the limits of this offered mercy may plead ignorance of the consequences of refusing it ; I, by these presents, proclaim not only the persons above-named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates, and abettors, meaning to comprehend in those terms, all and every person and persons, of what class, denomination or description soever, who have appeared in arms against the King's Government, and shall not lay down the same as afore-mentioned ; and likewise all such as shall so take arms after the date hereof, or who shall in any wise protect or conceal such offenders, or assist them with money, provision, cattle, arms, ammunition, carriages, or any other necessary for subsistence or offence ; or shall hold secret correspondence with them by letter, message, signal, or otherwise, to be Rebels and Traitors, and as such to be treated.

AND WHEREAS, during the continuance of the present unnatural rebellion, justice cannot be administered by the common law

of the land, the course whereof has for a long time past been violently impeded, and wholly interrupted ; from whence results a necessity of using and exercising the Law-Martial; I have therefore thought fit, by the authority vested in me by the Royal Charter to this Province, to publish, and I do hereby publish, proclaim and order the use and exercise of the Law-Martial, within and throughout this Province for so long time as the present unhappy occasion shall necessarily require ; whereof all persons are hereby required to take notice, and govern themselves, as well to maintain order and regularity among the peaceable inhabitants of the Province, as to resist, encounter and subdue the Rebels and Traitors above-described, by such as shall be called upon for those purposes.

To these inevitable, but, I trust, salutary measures, it is a far more pleasing part of my duty to add the assurance of my protection and support to all who, in so trying a crisis, shall manifest their allegiance to the King, and affection to the Parent State ; so that such persons as may have been intimidated to quit their habitations in the course of this alarm, may return to their respective callings and professions ; and stand distinct and separate from the parricides of

the Constitution, till God in his mercy shall restore to his creatures in this distracted land that system of happiness from which they have been seduced, the religion of peace, and liberty founded upon law.

Given at *Boston*, this 12th day of *June*, in the fifteenth year of the reign of His Majesty *GEORGE* the Third, by the Grace of *God*, of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. *Annoque Domini*, 1775.

THOMAS GAGE.

By His Excellency's command:

THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secretary*.

GOD save the KING.

GAGE'S PROCLAMATION

Of June 12, 1775,

IN BURLESQUE VERSE.

BY JOHN TRUMBULL.

Reprinted from *THE CONNECTICUT COURANT*
of August 7th and 14th, 1775.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Esq., President of the
Connecticut Historical Society.

By *THOMAS GAGE*, whom *British*
frenzy
Stiled Honourable and Excellency,
O'er Massachusetts sent to stand here
Vice-Admiral and Chief Commander,
Whose Power Gubernatorial still
Extends as far as Bunker-Hill,
Whose Admiralty reaches clever
Full half a mile up Mystic River¹,—
Let ev'ry Clime and ev'ry Nation
Attend, once more,

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS th' infatuated creatures,
 Still led by folks whom we call
 Traitors,—

-
1. "Tho' Gsge, whom proclamations call
 "Your Governor and Vice-Admiral,
 "Whose pow'r gubernatorial still
 "Extends as far as Bunker's hill;
 "Whose admiralty reaches clever,
 "Near half a mile up Mystic river," etc.
M'Fingal (1782), Canto 2: p. 37.

"Can any one"—asked a writer in the *Constitutional Gazette*,
 Nov. 25th, 1775,—“read with a grave face the high sounding
 “additions newly granted to General Gage (*vide* the public
 “prints)? To appoint a man Governor over a country as

Whom, had we dar'd, we'd have you know
 We should have hang'd a year ago,—
 Advancing in progression fatal²
 Have now proceeded to give battle,
 And with deep wounds, that fate portend,
 Gaul'd many a soldier's latter end;
 And all the good effects we hop'd
 From fear and patience, now are dropped,—
 The good effects, we mean, of gaining
 Whate'er you had was worth obtaining,—
 The good effects we saw in visions
 Of Lordships, Pensions, Pofts, Commis-
 sions,—
 All which, by following those same elves,
 You've kept most vilely for yourselves,—
 It but remains for us' who stand
 Invested with supreme command,
 To prove we do not bear or show you
 The sword in vain....So woe be to you!

"large as Chiu, while he remains in 'durance vile,' in a
 "little nook, scarce a mile and a half in diameter, and cannot
 "obtain a pig from *Hog Island*, nor a truss of straw from
 "Noddle Island,* though both within three miles of him,—
 "puts him much in the condition of a Moorfields' monarch,
 "who, with a crown and sceptre, pretends to give laws to
 "mighty nations."

2. "Now rising in progression fatal,
 "Have you not ventur'd to give battle?"

"And with deep wounds that fate portend,
 "Gaul'd many a reg'lar's latter end?"

M'Fingal, Canto 3: p. 57.

* Probably referring to the expedition to Hog and Nod-
 dle Islands, on the twenty-seventh of May, preceding,
 which had not only proved unsuccessful but led to the loss
 of several mariues and one of the King's armed schooners.
 —ED. HIST. MAG.

But first 'tis fit it should be seen
 What arrant knaves ye all have been;
 What horrid crimes ye've been committing
 'Gainst Parliament and Crown of Britain;
 Denied the sacred right to these
 Of calmly robbing whom they please;
 That any man with half an eye
 Your plots and mischiefs may espy;
 And those who nothing know beside 'em
 May see the pains ye took to hide 'em.

Did ye not scare each printing press,
 And make e'en *Rivington*³ confess?
 Stop ev'ry printer bold and wife
 Who dared to publish Tory lies?

3. In a letter addressed to the Congress at Philadelphia, in May, 1775, Rivington admitted that "by the freedom of his publications during the present unhappy disputes, he had brought upon himself much public displeasure and resentment. . . . A few weeks ago he [*had*] published in his paper "a short apology, in which he assured the public that he would be cautious for the future of giving any further offence," &c. His confession and apology were so far accepted that on the seventh of June following, the Provincial Congress of New York recommended that he be permitted to return to his house and family, and that he should not be molested in person or property. His reformation was not permanent. His repeated offences so exasperated the Whigs that, about three months after this 'Proclamation' was published, a party from Connecticut, led by Captain Isaac Sears, marched to New York, and entering Rivington's office, destroyed such copies of his obnoxious publications as they could find there, and carried off his types and printing materials to New Haven. Trumbull alludes to this expedition, in the Third Canto of *M'Fingal*.

"All punishmenta the world can render

"Serve only to provoke th' offender,"—

argues the Tory 'Squire, and he tauntingly asks his persecutors,

"Haa Rivington, in dread of stripes,

"Ceas'd lying, since you stole his types?"

Nay, when myself in proclamation,
 Spread wholesome falsehood thro' the na-
 tion,
 Altho' the lies I used to scatter
 Were of the noblest size and water,
 Did ye not all refuse to credit,
 As tho' some common liar had said it ?
 Did not my scribbler-gen'ral strain hard,
 My *Massachusettsis*, L. . . . d,⁴

4. In transferring this line to the first Canto of *M'Fingal* (Phil. 1775), Trumbull wrote the name of *Leonard*, in full,—with this Note: "One of the Maudams Council in Massa-
 chusetts Bay, author of a course of Essays, under the signa-
 ture of MASSACHUSETTENSIS; for which, and his other good
 services he has had a place given him, with a salary of £200
 sterling." But in the first Edition of the completed poem
 [1782], the name and the Note are omitted:—

"Did not our MASSACHUSETTENSIS
 "For your conviction strain his senses ?
 "Scrawl ev'ry moment he could spare
 "From cards, and barbers, and the fair;
 "
 "And while he muddled all his head,
 "You did not heed a word he said."

[p. 18.]

The revised edition of 1820 has only this Note for MASSACHUSETTENSIS: "A course of Essays under that signature was published in Boston, in the latter part of 1774 and beginning of 1775. It was the last combined effort of Tory wit and argument to write down the Revolution."

These Essays, which are said to have "excited great exultation among the Tories and many gloomy apprehensions among the Whigs," are now chiefly interesting as having called forth the admirable *History of the Dispute with America*, published by John Adams, under the signature of NOVANOLUS, in the *Boston Gazette*, between December, 1774, and April, 1775. Mr. Adams, as is well known, believed that he recognized in the letters of MASSACHUSETTENSIS, the style of his old friend and correspondent, Jonathau Sewall: and it was not until after his publication of the revised edition of NOVANOLUS, in 1819, that he discovered his error. *Works of J. Adams*, iv. 9, 10; x. 178. It appears that Trumbull—who was a student of law, in Mr. Adams's office in

Write, ev'ry moment he could spare
 From cards and gallanting the fair,
 To reason, wheedle, coax or frighten
 Your rebel folks from schemes of fighting,—
 Scrawl, till he muddled quite his head?
 And did you mind a word he said?
 Did not my grave Judge S. . . ll hit⁵
 The summit of newspaper wit,
 Fill ev'ry leaf of ev'ry paper
 Of Mills and Hicks and Mother Draper ;⁵

Boston, when the first *Essay of MASSACHUSETTENSIS* was given to the press,—made a better guess at the authorship,—rightly ascribing it to Daniel Leonard, of Taunton. Leonard, on the testimony of Mr. Adams, “was a scholar, a lawyer, and an orator, according to the standard of those days. . . . He wore a broad gold lace round the rim of his hat, he made his cloak glitter with laces still broader, he had set up his chariot and pair, and constantly travelled in it, from Taunton to Boston. . . . The discerning ones soon perceived that wealth and power must have charms to a heart that delighted in so much finery, and indulged in such unusual expense.” *Works*, x. 194, 195.

5. “Did not my grave Judge Sewall hit,” &c. Transferred, with the seven lines following, to *M'Fingal*, Canto I [p. 19],—where Sewall is described, in a foot-note, as “Attorney-general of Massachusetts Bay, a Judge of Admiralty, Gage's chief Adviser and Proclamation-maker; author of a farce called *Americans Roused*, and of a great variety of essays on the Ministerial side, in the Boston newspapers.” Until seduced by the arts of Hutchinson, he had been the “cordial, confidential and bosom friend” of Adams,—“as ardent an American, and as explicitly for resistance to Great Britain.” *Preface to NOVANOLUS*, Edit. 1819. Though his perversion to Toryism made him justly odious to his early friends, acknowledged excellence in his profession and his reputation as a writer and public speaker should have spared him the contemptuous epithet with which Trumbull—possibly for the rhyme's sake,—dismisses

“that wit of water-gruel

“A Judge of Admiralty, Sewall.”

6. Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks were the proprietors of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy* (formerly

Draw proclamations, works of toil,
 In true sublime and scarecrow style;
 Write farces too, 'gainst right and freedom,
 All for your good,—and none would read
 'em?

My friends at York, did ye not hamper,
 And make each tory scribbler scamper,⁷
 From C . . . r,⁸ to that senseless prater,
 From folly's rear-guard, styled *Mercator*?

The Boston Weekly Advertiser), from 1773 to the commencement of hostilities, in 1775. Margaret, widow of Richard Draper, (who died in 1774), continued the publication of the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, until the evacuation of the town by the British, in 1776, when she accompanied the army to Halifax. She subsequently received a pension from the British government.

7. "There never was a more total revolution at any place than at *New York*. The Tories have been obliged to fly. "The Province is arming; and the Governor dares not call his prostituted Assembly to receive Lord *North's* foolish plan. Two of the *Delanceys, Watts, Cooper, Rivington, Colonel Phillips*, and the rest of the Tory leaders are fled; some to England, and some to private places in the country, where they are not known." *Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia*, May 22, 1775—*American Archives*, IV, ii, 669.

"The character of the *New Yorkers* is no longer suspicious. " . . . The few Tories among them are silent; the cry of "liberty is irresistible. . . . *Rivington* follows their fortunes—(that of the *Tory refugees*) and his printing shop, which "forged calumny and sedition for the whole continent, is "shut up." *Wm. Hooper to Samuel J. Johnston*, May 23, 1775—*Ibid.*, 679.

"No people can be more despised, nor more frightened, than those here who have been inimical to their Country, "particularly the eleven Members of the House. Mr. *Rivington* has made a recantation; President *Cooper* has de- "camped," etc. *Letter from New York*, April 30—*Ibid.*, 449.

8. "Have not our *Cooper* and our *Seabury*
 "Sung hymns, like *Barak* and old *Deborah*?"
M^cFingal, Canto 1, p. 16.

"I could not half the *Scriblers* muster
 "That swarm'd round *Rivington* in cluster;

Raife such a tumult, bluffer, jarring,
 That, midst the clash of tempests warring,
 L.w's weathercock, with veers forlorn,
 Could scarcely tell which way to turn?⁹
 What difappointments sad and bilkings,
 Awaited poor departing W s ;¹⁰

"Assemblies, Councilmen, forsooth;
 "Brush, *Cooper*, Wilkins, Chandler, Booth," etc.
Ibid, p. 18.

In a note, Cooper is characterized as "a writer, poet, and "satyrst of the same stamp as Parson Peters,—and "President of the College of New York." Not even by the mob which compelled Dr. Cooper to resign his Presidency and to seek his safety in flight, was he subjected to so grievous and undeserved indignity as by this coupling of his name with that of "the fag-end man, poor Parsou Peters!"

9. ISAAO LOW, a prominent merchant of New York, had been a Delegate to the first Continental Congress, one of the earliest subscribers of the Association, and the Chairman of the general Committee for the City and County, in 1774. But his timidity and lukewarmaness gave offence to more zealous patriots; and he, with his conservative colleagues, gradually lost influence and position in the Committee, until, after wavering for a time between the two great parties, he rested in confirmed Toryism. The allusion to his "weathercock" policy in the summer of 1775, was omitted from the first Canto of *M'Fingal*, published in the autumn of that year: and was subsequently transferred by the Author, in the third canto of the completed poem [1782,] to WILLIAM SMITH, the Chief-justice, who, like Mr. Low, had first espoused, then abandoned the popular cause:—

—"Such a tumult, bluster, jarring,
 "That mid the clash of tempests warring,
 "Smith's weathercock, with veers forlorn,
 "Could hardly tell which way to turn."

10. No one of the "Tory scribblers" of New York was more obnoxious to the patriots, than Isaac Wilkins. He had been one of the leaders of the Tory majority in the Provincial Assembly of 1774-5, and in a speech in that body had denounced "the ill-judged, tyrannical and destructive measures of the Congress," and declared the Boston Port Bill "the mildest chastisement that could possibly have been "inflicted, considering the nature of the offence" of the Massachusetts patriots. He was suspected of a share in the authorship of *A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Ameri-*

What wild confusion, rout and hobble, you
 Made with his farmer, Don A. W.¹¹
 How did you 'fore committees drag it,
 And answer it with fire and faggot?
 Still bent your own side to advance,
 You never gave us equal chance,
 That all the world might see and tell
 Which party beat at lying well ;

cans, The American Querist, and the essays of *A. W. Farmer*, mentioned in the following note. Shortly after the battle of Lexington, Mr. Wilkins, with other prominent Tories, escaped the fury of the Whigs of New York, by taking refuge on board a British vessel of war, in which he sailed for England. On the eve of his departure, May 3, 1775, he published a farewell address to his countrymen, declaring that he was about to "leave America and every "endearing connection, because he would not raise his hand "against his Sovereign, nor would he draw his sword "against his Country." *Foxor's American Archives*, IV. ii. 479.

11. The anti-revolutionary pamphlets of "A. W. FARMER," printed by Rivington, had been extensively circulated in New York and Connecticut, in the winter of 1774-5. In February, 1775, the Committee of Suffolk County, N. Y., resolved, "that all those publications which have a tendency "to divide us, and thereby weaken our opposition to "measures taken to enslave us, ought to be treated with the "utmost contempt by every friend to his country; in particular the Pamphlet entitled *A Friendly Address, &c.*, and "those under the signature of *A. W. Farmer*, and many "others to the same purpose, which are replete with the "most impudent falsehoods, and the grossest misrepresentations; and that the authors, printers, and abettors of "the above and such like publications, ought to be esteemed and treated as traitors to their country, and "enemies to the liberties of America." *Foxor's American Archives* IV. i. 1258.

When copies of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the Whigs, they were disposed of in such a manner as most emphatically to express detestation of the anonymous authors and their sentiments. Sometimes they were publicly burned, with imposing formality; sometimes decorated with tar and feathers from the turkey-buzzard, as "the fittest emblem of "the author's odiousness," and nailed to the whipping post. See, also, an account of the burning of *A. W. FARMER'S*

From whence the point is very clear,
 You did not dare the truth to hear,
 But fearful lest the world should guess it,
 Took all this trouble to suppress it.
 Did you not prate of *law* and *right*,
 And spirit up your friends to fight?
 Apply the animating lays
 Of freedom's sons in ancient days,—
 Altho' you could not fail to know
 Those days were thousand years ago?

Did not your clergy,¹² all as one,
 Vile protestants each mother's son,

View of the Controversy, &c., by the Sons of Liberty in New York, in *Rivington's Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1775, re-printed in *MOORE'S Diary of the Revolution*, i. 12.

The odium of authorship rested, in popular apprehension, on Dr. Myles Cooper, Isaac Wilkins, and Samuel Seabury, afterwards Bishop of Connecticut. Mr. Seabury was, at this period, a resident of Westchester, and an uncompromising loyalist. He was one of the signers of the "White Plains Protest," by which the Westchester Tories, in April, 1775, expressed their "honest abhorrence of all unlawful Congresses and Committees." The writings of A. W. FARMER were very generally attributed to his pen; and this impression, with other less questionable evidence of his zealous Toryism, led to his arrest and imprisonment at New Haven, in November, 1775. Mr. Dawson, whose judgment in a question of authorship is nearly infallible, ascribes the A. W. FARMER pamphlets to Isaac Wilkins; and in this, I follow him, as my sufficient authority, though my earlier impression was that Seabury had a principal part in their composition.

12. A Boston correspondent of *RIVINGTON'S Gazette*, March 9, 1775, classes with "the high sons of liberty," "the ministers of the gospel, who, instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments, and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the mother country. The independent ministers have ever been, since the first settling of this Colony, the instigators and abettors of every persecution and conspiracy."

Tho' miracles have left in lurch
 All men but our true Cath'lic church,¹³
 Perfuade you Heav'n would help you out,
 Till you despised our threats so stout,—
 While ev'ry sermon spread alarms,
 And ev'ry pulpit beat to arms ?

When General Gage declared, in his Proclamation of June 12, that "to complete the horrid profanation of terms and "of ideas, the name of God has been introduced in the pulpits, to excite and justify devastation and massacre," it is probable that he especially alluded to a sermon delivered some two weeks previously, before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, by the Rev. Dr. Langdon, President of Harvard College. "May we not be confident," asked the preacher, "that the Most High, who regards these things, will vindicate his own honour, and plead our righteous cause against such enemies to his government as well as our liberties? In a variety of methods he can work salvation for us, as he did for his people in ancient days. . . . May the Lord hear us in this day of trouble, and the name of the God of Jacob defend us, send us help from his sanctuary, and strengthen us out of Zion! We will rejoice in his salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners." This sermon, with others illustrating "the politico-theological phase of the conflict for American Independence," was re-printed in 1860, with pertinent notes, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, in an excellent volume entitled *The Pulpit of the American Revolution*.

13. This appeal to the *odium theologicum* is dexterously introduced. If any sentiment could unite the people of New England more closely than did the love of liberty, it must be hatred of Popery. The suspicion that Gage and his employers favored the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion,—however unfounded,—was very generally entertained in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Dr. Langdon gave it expression in the Election Sermon before quoted: "When we consider the late Canada Bill, which implies not merely a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion (which would be just and liberal), but a firm establishment of it through that extensive province. . . . have we not great reason to suspect that all the late measures respecting the colonies have originated from Popish schemes of men who would gladly restore the race of Stuart, and who look on Popery as a religion most favorable to arbitrary power?"

In *A Dialogue between the Friends, viz.: An unlimited Commander, now in America, and the D. . . .*, printed in

And now to tell the things that pass
 The nineteenth day of April last,
 Of your armed rebels, twenty dozens,
 Whom our fear multiplied to thousands,
 (For fear supplies, in ways most able,
 The whole multiplication table,)
 Attack'd our peaceful troops, I sent,
 For plunder, not for slaughter meant,—¹⁴
 Who little mischief then had done
 But kill'd eight men at Lexington ;
 Who shew'd their love to peace and virtue,
 And prov'd they'd no intent to hurt you:
 For did not every Reg'lar run, ¹⁵
 As soon as e'er you fired a gun ?
 And fearful if they stay'd for sport,
 You might by accident be hurt,
 Convey'd themselves with speed away,
 Full twenty miles in half-a-day ;

the *Connecticut Courant*, October 17, 1774, the Commander [Gage] is made to say—

“ The Pope I've worshipp'd long, 'tis true,
 “ But this must be 'twixt me and you ;
 “ With all our zeal we must not dare
 “ One syllable of this declare ; . . .
 “ For in this Place, you know, are those,
 “ Who fear a God, nor let his Foes
 “ Transgress all Laws divinely made,
 “ As if true *sinning* was a Trade.”

14. “ You must acknowledge it was duty, as it was the
 “ dictate of humanity, to prevent, if possible, the calamities of
 “ a civil war, by destroying such magazines.” *Gage's Letter*
 to Governor Trumbull, May 3, 1775.

15. “ For did not every Reg'lar run,” etc.

This, with the seven lines following, was transferred to,
M'Fingal, Canto 2, p. 37.

Raced till their legs were grown so weary
 They'd scarce suffice their weight to carry ?
 When you, unmov'd by all this kindness,¹⁶
 Pursu'd like tygers, still behind us ;
 And since, assuming airs so tall,
 Because we did not kill you all,
 Have dar'd, with jibes and jeers confounded,
 Insult the brave whose backs ye wounded,
 (Tho' valour would with shame have burn'd,
 To shoot folks when their backs are turn'd)
 And bragging high, as tho' ye beat us,
 No more mind reg'lars than musquitoes,
 Fire on us at your will, and shut
 The town as tho' ye'd starve us out,
 And with parade preposterous hedg'd,
 Affect to hold us here besieg'd,
 (Tho' we, who still command the seas,¹⁷
 Can run away whene'er we please ;)
 Have scar'd the Tories into town,
 And burnt their hay and houses down,
 And boast, unless we quickly flee,
 To drive us headlong to the sea,

16. " Yet you as vile as they were kind,
 " Pursued, like tygers, still behind,
 " Fir'd on them at your will, and shut
 " The town, as tho' you'd starve them out ;
 " And with parade prepost'rous hedg'd,
 " Affect to hold them there besieg'd," etc.

—*Ibid.*

17. " Tho' we, who still command the seas," etc.

Transferred, with the seven lines following, slightly altered,
 to *M'Fingal*, Canto 2, p. 38.

As once, to faithless Jews, a sign,
The De'el, turn'd hog-reeve, did the swine.

At any rate, I'm now content to
Avoid the scrape I have got into,
And publish here my resolution
Of blood to spare the least effusion ;
For fast proceeding in this pickle,
Who knows whose blood the next may
trickle } ✓

'Tis time, in faith, to cry enough ;
Heav'n prosper those that now leave off !
No more the Yankees I contemn ;
Let me alone, and I will them :
Those who in peace will henceforth live,
I and His Majesty forgive ;
All but that arch-rogue, and first grand
cock,

Your *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*,
Whose crimes are grown to that degree,
I must hang them,—or they'll hang me.

But further to explain, to th' end
That none may ignorance pretend,—
I, *ex cathedra*, each malfeazance
That follows, rank with blackest treasons.
Whoe'er in future, without more said,
Associate with those knaves aforesaid,
Take arms to fight, or to conceal
Such traitors 'gainst the common weal,
Aid them with money, arms, provision,
Guns, carriages, or ammunition,

Afsist their onset or retreat,
 And help them, or to fight or eat,
 Hold correspondence, us to weaken,
 By letter, mefsage, sign or beacon,—
 Know they, as traitors we fhall watch 'em,
 And hang they fhall, if I [*can*] catch 'em.

And now, (for bravely we come on,
 One more *Whereas*, and then we've done:
 Whereas, as long as we fhall dwell on
 This ftrange "*unnatural rebellion*,"
 (For all rebellion, to a notch
 Is natural only to the Scotch;¹⁸
 Tho' parliament have done their fhare
 To naturalize it ev'ry where,)
 Since juftice cannot take its courfe,
 And common law's kick'd out of doors¹⁹
 I, by the pow'r your charters grant,
 (Find ye out how, for, faith! I can't)
 Proclaim, to keep all rogues in awe,
 The exercife of martial law,
 So long, and in fuch quantities,
 As my great wifdom fhall devife ;

18. "His fathers flourish'd in the Highlands
 "Of Scotia's fog-henighted islands;
 "Whence gain'd our 'Squire two gifts by right,
 "Rebellion, and the Second-sight."

M'Fingal, Canto 1, p. 4.

19. "While reason fails to check your courfe,
 "And loyalty's kick'd out of doors."

—*Ibid*, Canto 3, p. 55.

So, without qualms or grumbling take it,
Or ropes shall trice the knaves who break
it.

But, putting off this rage and fury,
I'm twice as glad again t' afsure ye
That all who in this trying crisis
Shall heed my peaceable advices,
Submit to me in ev'ry thing,
And lose their rights, to please the King,
Shall from my arm, which is not short,
Obtain protection and support,
Such as I give the Boston Tories
Who starve for heeding thus my stories,"²⁰

20. "There is no market in Boston; the inhabitants are all starving," wrote an English soldier, April 30th, 1775: "the soldiers live on salt provisions, and the officers are supplied by the men-of-war cutters, who go up the creeks and take live cattle and sheep wherever they find them. . . . Duty is so hard that we come off guard in the morning, and mount picket at night." *FORBES'S American Archives*, IV, ii, 441.

"We heard yesterday, by one Mr. Rolston, a goldsmith, who got out from Boston in a fishing schooner, that the distress of the troops increases fast, their beef is spent, their malt and cider all gone; all the fresh provisions they can procure they are obliged to give to the sick and wounded," etc. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Aug. 2,—in *MOORE'S Diary of the Revolution*, i, 113.

Gage was doing his best to procure supplies. Captain Wallace, in the *Rose*, sloop-of-war, with two tenders, was plundering the sea-coast towns; and early in August, he was dispatched with a more considerable fleet, to the neighborhood of Stonington and New London, Connecticut. The day before the first portion of the burlesque Proclamation appeared in the *Courant*, August 6th, this fleet carried off from Fisher's, Gardiner's and Plum Islands, about eighteen hundred sheep and one hundred head of cattle. On their return to Boston, "with these trophies of victory, the bells, we hear," [says the *Essex Gazette*, August 17], "were set to music, to the no small joy and comfort of the poor, half-starved Tories."—*CAULKIN'S Hist. of New London 1775; FROTHINGHAM'S Siege of Boston*, 236.

Or venture each his worthless head,
 Condemn'd to 'lift and fight for bread.

And all the tory-refugees
 May now go home whene'er they please ;
 We've no occasion for such stuff ;
 We've British fools and knaves enough :
 Whene'er they dare, without remissness,
 Let them go off about their bus'ness ;
 Yet not with whigs and rebels link'd,
 But still stand separate and distinct,
 Till Mercy aid your people undone,—
 And Heav'n dispatch me back to London !

